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CITY OF LIVING STONES

The following is the continuation of an article which appeared in issue No. 14 of December 1st, of The Polish Review.

By Dr. J. D.

CRACOW flourished most exuberantly in the XVIth Century, called the "golden age" of its history. It coincides with the long reign of Sigismund I, an ardent lover and patron of the arts, whose wife was the beautiful and sagacious Bona of the great family of Sforza. It coincides with the times of his successor Sigismund Augustus, the last of the Jagiellons, also a subtle admirer of beauty, and with the short, but for Poland very happy period of the reign of the valiant and inflexible Stephen Batory who in turn succeeded to the throne. The city becomes for the whole nation a metropolis of learning, literature and art, increases in importance and wealth, becomes a school of elegant refinement. A host of Italian architects and sculptors flock to the royal court, and painters and poets arrive. In 1502 begins the reconstruction of the Gothic castle into a magnificent Renaissance palace, with a wonderfully beautiful tilting yard and innumerable chambers filled with treasures of art, while in 1517 Floren-

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Wawel Cathedral at night. To the left the Clock Tower, in the center the Tower of the "Silver Bells," partly Romanesque from the XIth Century, in the background the Tower with "Sigismund" Bell.

SPEAKING TO POLAND . . .

By Dorothy Thompson, Distinguished Columnist

WHEN Poland was reborn twenty-three years ago, young Poles came back to the mother country from the ends of the earth. They left positions that were often far more remunerative than any they could expect in your young country. In Poland I have met doctors and engineers from American universities and from German universities; men and women who had studied in Moscow and Leningrad; musicians who had learned in Vienna. They began the rebuilding of Poland, they and the Poles who had never left its soil, and never forgotten the dream of a Polish homeland of Polish culture.

It was no easy task, and it produced no Utopia. But there was steady and continuous progress. If it had taken a hundred and fifty years to create what a hundred and fifty years had destroyed, that would have been no wonder. Poland is not a rich country, but a poor country . . . a poor country that had been systematically kept poor by its oppressors, who wanted cheap labor for their estates, and got it from the hardy men of Poland. Your two most powerful neighbors were rich. Germany was rich. Germany has always cried aloud about her poverty, but she was rich enough and powerful enough to threaten and nearly defeat the whole world in the last war, and twenty years later to challenge it again.

Yet your German neighbor was afraid of you. Why? She was afraid, first of all, of your healthy bodies; she was afraid of the Polish mothers with their numerous children. Time and again, in Germany, I have heard the remark that Poland, now a nation of only thirty millions would be, in a few generations, a more numerous race than the Germans themselves. And Germany envied you the little you had. You had coal — Germany had loads of coal, more coal than she knew what to do with, but she wanted your coal, in the German system. Germany had very little oil, but products galore with which she could buy it in all the markets of the world. But she wanted your oil. And above all, she wanted your labor, the labor of the tough, and tireless Polish peasant, to serve the Master Race of the German landlords of the East.

This idea of the Master Race was not born in the mind of Adolph Hitler. It has always been in the mind of the Prussian military caste. They thought of themselves as the Knights of the Teutonic Order, who should bring civilization to the barbarians of the East, and bring it with the sword, and turn the barbarians into their serfs. They ached with pain to see these serfs stand up as free men, meet and assemble in their own parliaments, build their own schools, kneel and pray in their own churches, establish diplomatic relations with the great nations of the world, found their own armies, set afloat their own ships upon the seas, build their own port at Gdynia, sit upon the counsels of the League of Nations. It outraged their sense of mastery that in the

cities, where once the Germans had been the factory owners, and the capitalists and the owners of the best shops, Poles should suddenly become owners and managers. Poles were not meant for such positions. The peculiar German god, who is god of the Germans alone, looked with disfavor upon this upsetting of the natural order of things. For in the East, the natural order of things was that Germans must be masters, and Slavs must be slaves.

Now Hitler's armies, the camarilla of Prussian generals who have used him, as they have used everything else in Germany, as their tool, have conquered from Marseilles to the gates of Moscow. But still they are afraid of you, Poles. They are afraid of your fecundity, and they are afraid of your spirit. They are afraid of your religion. They are afraid of your marriages and your births. They are afraid of your faith in God and in Poland. They are so afraid that they are trying to exterminate every clever and intelligent man and woman; to cut down your birth rate by sending your men away from women to work in Germany; by starving as many of you as they can. They are afraid of the thousands of Poles fighting on every battle front, from the British Isles to the Near East. They are afraid of your intrepid fliers, who are the most daring members of the R.A.F., and who are raining bombs on your enemies in British fighting planes, and in American bombers. They are afraid of your sailors, carrying ships through submarine-infested seas to bring food and arms to Britain.

But they are most afraid of the Polish people themselves. They are so afraid that they cannot let you alone, even when you, in Poland, have been completely disarmed. For they know that you despise them — despise their armies and their Gestapo, despise them so much that no Pole has ever come out as a front for their activities in Poland.

But there is something else of which they should be even more afraid — even now, when they stand panoplied in all their power. They should be afraid of the world-wide spirit of Freedom and Equality, that after the first shattering blow has begun to rear itself again in full strength. A wind is blowing free over the earth. It speaks in the words of the Pope, and says there is but one great race, the race of man, and men are brothers. It speaks in the words of the great American leaders, from Washington to Roosevelt. It dreams dreams and sees visions, of the time, when all free men will unite in powerful federations of nations, pooling their resources and energies, opening their frontiers to each other, distributing their surplus commodities, and thus feeding each other, and lifting each other up; providing for the common defense with common armies and navies; they foresee the great coming age of brotherhood and cooperation.

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RUSSIANS THROUGH POLISH EYES

The following personal views were expressed by two prominent Poles who recently came to London, after spending two years in Russia.

THREE well-known Poles — two nationalists and a socialist — recently arrived in London from Russia where for nearly two years they had been in durance vile, prisoners in Siberia or inmates of concentration camps: Mr. Grabski, former Minister of Finance and a well-known economist; Professor Komarnicki, a lawyer; and Mr. Mastek, one of the leaders of the Polish labor movement.

Today these men see eye to eye on many things that formerly divided them. Two years of suffering failed to break their spirit or shake their faith in the future of Poland, but it seems to have bred tolerance in their hearts. They now think along the same lines and with the same broad outlook. Their thought is uniform, their vision clear! And they are fully aware of the immensity of the task that lies ahead.

In conversation with the London representative of the Polish Review, Professor Komarnicki said:

At first the Polish soldier taken prisoner by the Russians in 1939 could not understand how he found himself in a Soviet prison camp when he had been fighting the Germans. He was continuously told that the Soviet armies were on their way to help the Poles. The Russians separated soldiers from officers, the latter receiving less favored treatment. This did not, however, affect the solidarity of Polish soldiers of all ranks. After the Polish-Russian pact, when the Russian officers transferred the camps to Polish authorities, it was noticed that the number of Polish officers was greater than the Russian authorities had any idea of. The Russian leader congratulated them heartily on their splendid example of solidarity and friendship.

During their isolation Polish soldiers showed complete indifference to foreign ideologies. The moment the Polish-Russian agreement was signed, and he was free he set out eagerly to join the ranks of the new Polish army. Hungry, physically exhausted and ill-clad, almost always without shoes — he travelled across the great plains of Russia to reach the newly organized Polish recruiting depots, to take up arms again. For two years, the Polish soldier had listened daily to Soviet broadcasts. Amplifiers were placed in every prison camp, so from time to time our men heard about the Polish army in France and later in Great Britain. With anguish and envy he heard that his comrades had the opportunity to continue

the struggle. Together with his friends in the west he experienced the tragedy of France. Professor Komarnicki estimates the present strength of the growing Polish army in Russia at 200,000 men. In all there are in Russia 1,500,000 Polish men, women and children dispersed throughout different parts of the U.S.S.R. as far as the Ural Mountains.

Living conditions in the camps were not the same everywhere — however, they were necessarily trying. War prisoners were employed in road-building

and deforestation. In Kazakstan, the Poles were left free to settle — their means of subsistence depending on the work in the kolchozy. There were many women and children and the way of life was very hard. Just before the Russo - Polish agreement, conditions in the concentration camps had deteriorated and food rations, already very meager, were reduced by half. The Polish - Russian agreement signed on July 30 saved the lives of thousands of Poles. The Russian authorities gave permission to celebrate Soldier's Day, on August 15. This took place after the Russo-Polish agreement. In one of the camps, a Soviet liaison officer came to

pay his respects and offer greetings. He declared that the signing of the Russo-Polish pact had changed the whole outlook: "Your holiday is our holiday."

In conclusion, Professor Komarnicki described his impressions and gave his views on the future course of the Russo-German war. The military resistance of the Russian armies is based on two fundamentals: material and moral.

From the material point of view, the Russian army, well-trained and organized for many years, and the growing war industry of Soviet Russia are backed by the powerful NKWD organization (Russian Ministry of Interior) with central offices in Moscow, Lubianka, and thousands of other centers through the vast expanse of the U.S.S.R. This administrative body directs all phases of life. Night and day it guards the "right thoughts and feelings" of the citizens. Russian morale emanates from the particular brand of Soviet patriotism inculcated for 24 years.

Russians never read any papers but their Russian, they never listen to foreign broadcasts, but they firmly believe that living conditions in Western Europe are much worse than in Russia. They believe that Soviet Russia is an earthly paradise. And they are willing to defend it at the price of life itself, against the German hordes. Today that war has broken down the walls that kept the U.S.S.R. isolated from the rest of the world, the Russian masses

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"Hitler is no accident. He is the natural and continuous product of a breed which from the dawn of history has been predatory and bellicose. It has thriven on indulgence which has always been in favor of giving the aggressor another chance. And the aggressor has always taken it.

"The GERMAN is often a moral creature; the GERMANS never; and it is the GERMANS who count. You will always think of GERMANS in the plural, if you are wise. Force and fraud, fraud and force; that is the old German gospel. Before the world can ever be at peace something will have to happen that has never happened yet; the Germans who do not believe in that gospel will have to predominate over those who do."

SIR ROBERT VANSITTART

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will begin to acquaint themselves with an entirely new world, and Soviet Russia will be faced with new problems which will become acute after the war. But whatever changes take place in the internal structure of our Eastern neighbor, Poland's basic policy will always be one of peace and friendship towards her.

The experiences of M. Mastek in Russia were different from Komarnicki's. Mastek, former member of the Polish parliament, was one of the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party, and president of the Railwaymen Union. He was arrested by the Russians on September 26, 1939 in Kowel. He spent the first three months in prison at Kowel and was later transferred to the well-known Lubianka Prison in Moscow, a very different place from the same Lubianka Prison during the first Russian Revolution, when its cells were crowded with bourgeois capitalists, enemies of the proletariat and where underground platoons shot people without trial. The Lubianka of today is a well-organized, exemplary court of investigation where strict regulations and close surveillance prevent any contact among prisoners.

After 28 nights of interrogation, Mastek was sent to a prison in Butyrki, and was sentenced to 5 years hard labor in one of the Siberian concentration camps. The journey to Siberia lasted 17 days, with 15 persons in each railroad car living on bread and water and an occasional piece of fish.

This concentration camp is in the Republic of Kami, a Siberian territory three times the size of Poland, but inhabited by only 100,000 people. Work consisted of felling lumber in vast forests where winter lasts 8 months in the year, with the thermometer falling at times to 50 degrees below zero and followed by four months of sulky summer heat waves that bring no relief because of the droves of mosquitoes, flies and rats.

In summer work starts at 3 a.m. and lasts till 7 p.m. The prisoners were divided into groups — each receiving food in proportion to its work-output. The guards were Russian prisoners sentenced for minor offenses. They had authority over the political prisoners.

Mastek spent his last prison days in an "isolation ward" as his health had broken down. After the signing of the Polish-Russian pact he was released and sent back to Moscow. Following his departure a large number of prisoners were released, they were nearly all Poles. Mastek says that in the past 24 years Soviet Russia has succeeded in creating a new type of man, engrossed in its structural features, deprived of all means of comparison and unable to conceive any other way of life. So, in the course of its development, under conditions entirely incomprehensible to the peoples of Western Europe, Russia enlarged its industry to huge dimensions, nationalized and reformed its agricultural system, and was able to organize a powerful army, well-equipped with modern implements of war, prepared to offer effective resistance to the German army.

The relatively slow advance of German armies across the vast steppes of Russia has given Stalin sufficient time to transfer his internal organization

in its entirety from Moscow to the interior, retain intact the structural form of its body-politic, and successfully evacuate at least 30% of its war-industry potential from threatened regions to places far behind the Ural Mountains. Ruins and scorched earth mark the retreat of the Russian armies.

The near future may find the Germans held up in their victorious march. The Eastern campaign may develop into a temporary stalemate, and then, "General Winter" and the strong determination of the Russian soldier, his patriotism aroused to the utmost by his hatred of the invader, will "do his bit."

The Polish-Russian pact opened the gates of concentration camps and other settlements to 1,500,000 Poles deported to the interior of Russia and dispersed throughout the steppes of Siberia and Kazakhstan. Its signature saved from death more than 300,000 Poles who otherwise would have perished during the coming winter, which will be very severe.

A Polish Army, 300,000 strong, is being organized in Russia, animated with splendid morale and determination to fight to the bitter end. From all parts of Russia, Poles are rallying to the ranks of the Polish army, to them no sacrifice is too great if it contributes to the crushing of Hitler and all he stands for.

"Thanks to the Providence" — said Mastek — "we were able to transfer our army to Great Britain, whence strong forces have been sent to the Near East and to Libya, giving us a privileged stand among the oppressed nations. We continue in the fight."

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In the path of that age stand the huge armies of the would-be master-men, the Germans, treacherous to their allies and deadly to their enemies. But those armies stand in the path of a stream more powerful than they. It is gathering force as it speeds along. From a brook it will become a river, and the river will burst its dams, and the flood of its waters spread everywhere, putting out the fires, cultivating the fields, and bringing the peace of God to mankind.

Then it will be said of the Poles: They were the first to die that the peoples of the world might live. And it will be said of them that in hunger and cold, under the arrogant orders of their conquerors, slaughtered and dispossessed, they maintained the two greatest virtues that man can exercise: Courage and Fidelity. It will be said of them in the great words of the scriptures: "They fought a good fight, they finished their course, they kept the Faith."

Men, women, and children of Poland! On this, the day of your resuscitation from the slavery of oppression, we who are still free in our bodies, salute you! You are not less free than we, for freedom is first in the mind and in the will. Poland will live again.

PLANNING POST-WAR EUROPE

By J. EMLYN WILLIAMS

THERE appears to be general agreement among Allied Governments, that international co-operation through some system of *blocs* can contribute towards establishing in Europe a more lasting peace than existed between 1919 and 1939.

It is clearly realized that the new European (or World) Organization can only be permanently successful to the extent that it is not the first but the final stage in a process which begins with regional *blocs* wherein the mutual benefits of close co-operation are self-evident.

Running like a thread through each statement is the conviction that future peace will depend fundamentally upon a continuation of the active help of the British Empire and the United States in settling the many intricate problems of the post-war period. This applies particularly to East and Central Europe.

Significant also is the fact that Germany's unprincipled aggression against militarily unprepared states, which trusted too much in treaties and international rights, has taught the lesson that international combination of peace-loving states even at the sacrifice of some sovereignty and not neutrality is the key to future peace.

* * * *

Poland is directly concerned with the welfare of those small nations of Europe, with whom it has vital political and economic interests in common. The chief of these interests is security against aggression, and on this basis Poland wishes to co-operate as closely as possible with the nations inhabiting the area situated between Germany and Russia.

These nations represent an aggregate force of over 115,000,000, and the territories inhabited by them are not only rich in natural resources, but are interconnected by the similarity of their geographical conditions, the supplementary character of their agricultural production, and the general configuration of their waterways and railways. Not only have their social structures many features in common, but also their political outlook, which, under the influence of historical developments, has evolved in the direction of national self-determination combined with a desire for democratic forms of government. In addition, these same nations have long indicated their desire for mutual co-operation for the defense of common interests.

The failure of the Western Powers to organize the free nations between the Baltic and the Black Sea,

so as to enable them to enjoy real security against expansionist tendencies threatening them from the west or the east, was one of the main causes of the downfall of the whole European system set up by the Peace Treaties after the last war.

It is, therefore, essential that in the new post-war Europe neither Germany nor Russia should obtain any actual predominance in the area in question. Any such predominance, for instance, on the part of Russia, whether it be called "leadership" or anything else, would again lead to a German-Russian collision

of interests in eastern Europe. This, as experience has shown, would not only threaten the nations of central and eastern Europe, but also constitute a very real menace to Britain and the whole world. The very object of any organization of eastern and central Europe on a basis of liberty, self-determination, and voluntary co-operation would be defeated, if the nations concerned, all of whom are freedom-loving and democratic, were to be subjected to Russia. For, despite certain affinities of race and language, the Russians' mentality and outlook

CIVILIZATION WILL PREVAIL

"We look into the future with unshakable confidence, knowing that civilization must ultimately prevail over barbarism. To the German plans of world domination we oppose a reorganized world, based upon the principles of freedom and equality among nations, upon social justice and Christian rules of conduct applied to the internal life of States as well as to their mutual relations."

Władysław Raczkiewicz,
President of the Polish Republic
(From a recent broadcast to
the Polish nation)

are different from theirs.

But at the same time it is clear that the community of interests now existing between the nations of Eastern and Central Europe on the one side, and Soviet Russia on the other, should facilitate co-operation on an equal footing. In the economic field, in particular, this should give ample possibilities for co-ordinating dispersed forces against German military aggression or "peaceful" infiltration.

With regard to the question of possible permanent co-operation through some system of *blocs*, it may be of interest to recall that General Sikorski, the Polish Prime Minister, in a series of speeches and interviews last autumn, pointed out that the re-organization of East and Central Europe after the war should be based upon a system of regional *blocs* of federated nations, all co-operating together in a common cause. He also ventured the opinion that the nations concerned, having learnt to their bitter cost that excessive nationalism and exaggerated conceptions of State sovereignty do not constitute an effective safeguard against aggression by stronger powers, would now be willing to surrender certain of their rights to central or federal organizations charged with the defense of their common interests. These organizations, he assumed, would co-operate to form a united front for the maintenance of peace, and he pointed out that the fact that the subjugation

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CITY OF LING STONES

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General view of the Market-Place from St. Mary's Tower. In the center the Clothiers' Hall (XIVth-XVth Centuries). At the back the Tower of the Old Town Hall.

tine and Sienese artists begin to build by the Gothic Wawel Cathedral the famous Sigismund Chapel, acknowledged by foreign scholars the "most beautiful jewel of the Italian Renaissance this side of the Alps." Its cupola, covered with genuine gold, was a significant symbol of the prosperity of the age.

With the following century, however, the happy stars over the common historical course of Cracow and Poland began to wane. That century memorable as the period of the counter-reformation and of increased religious zeal is marked at Cracow by numerous majestic Baroque monuments. At the same time it saw the triumph of "golden liberty" that gave the nobles and landowners such privileges, that the whole structure of the State was changed. Already at the beginning of the century Cracow loses in favor of Warsaw its character as the seat of kings. From the clouds gathering over the ancient Commonwealth thunderbolts fall repeatedly in the shape of invasions and disasters severely visiting the city and causing its depopulation and pauperization. Especially the XVIIIth Century, bringing with it a succession of calamities and catastrophies concluded with the shattering of the ship of state and the tearing to pieces, unprecedented in history, of a great nation by three neighboring powers, is also for Cracow the most disastrous period.

And when predominating foreign powers shut over Poland the lid of the grave, it was in Cracow that in 1794 the first voice of protest was raised and the first impulse for regaining independent existence was born. It was the insurrection of Kosciuszko who had already covered himself with the glory of heroism as the champion of American liberty. His very action opens the most glorious pages of the nation's struggle for independence waged against the predominant enemy in the course of the XIXth Century, the devoted participation of the Polish soldier in the great

Napoleonic epic and the abundant sacrifices of blood and suffering of the heroic insurgents of 1831 and 1863.

And though in the second half of the XIXth Century came years most gloomy for Poland, memorable by an extreme oppression of language and faith and of everything Polish, the historical turmoil was not able to break and destroy the strong stem of the nation. It was then that Providence decreed that Cracow should fulfill the important mission of the capital of Polish souls, of encouragement for the whole enslaved nation, a generous giver of strength and will of endurance. And when it seemed that nothing more remained for Poland but a grave closed forever, Cracow shone forth with an until then unseen development of learning, literature and art, and gleamed as if a lantern in the turmoil of confused elements with the greatness of memories of bygone power, the holiness of relics, and of the ashes, preserved in it, of patron-saints, kings, poets and of pure knights of liberty, with the brightness of Polish learning cultivated by the Academy of Sciences and by the ancient Alma Mater; it moved by the sight of the most glorious historic moments anew brought to life in the colossal canvases of Matejko, and eventually pierced the nation to the very marrow by the fiery commands of Action thrown into the people by the inspired poet Stanislas Wyspianski.

As if a great national sanctuary Cracow had been until recently the goal of the pilgrimages of all sons of Poland. With the chiming of the bells of Wawel Cathedral, with the pious chanting of the crowds filling the fifty churches of Cracow, with the tender sound of the bugle-call played since the XIVth Century every hour from the top of the tower of Our Lady's to the depths of Polish souls penetrated the stanzas of the immemorial rhapsody about the city which became the symbol of the history of the nation, and which preserved within its walls the mystery of the most sacred word the Independence and Greatness of Poland.

From "Old Cracow" published in Cracow before the war.

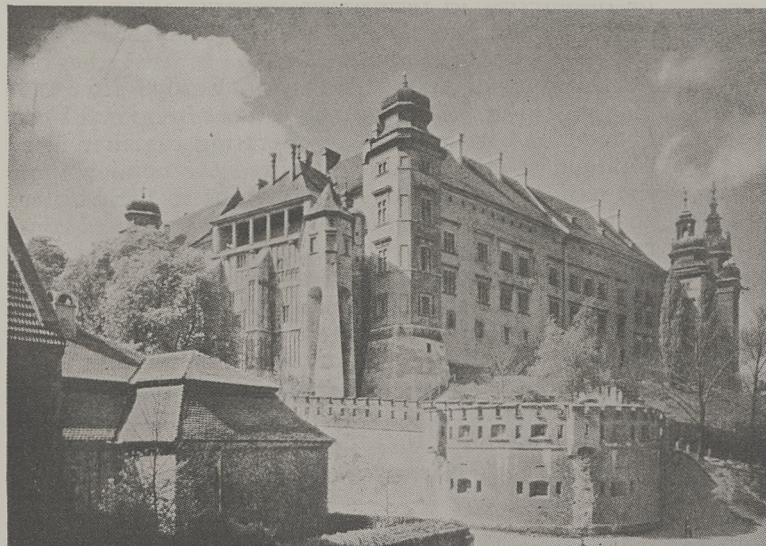
Jagiellonian Library. The present Library Building used to be the Seat of the Cracow University, founded in 1364.



Cracow's Ancient Fortifications — St. Florian's Gate.



Wawel Castle from the Northeast. With the main Renaissance part of the Royal Castle of Sigismund I from the first half of the XVIth Century is connected the Gothic part from the time of Ladislas Jagiello and Jadwiga from the end of XVIth Century (left) as well as the venerable Coronation Cathedral (right).



of Poland had been the signal for Hitler's campaign against other European nations clearly showed Poland occupied a key position in any European system based upon democratic principles.

The starting point of any federal policy in the region between the Baltic, Black, and Aegean Seas, might well prove to be the joint Polish-Czechoslovak declaration of November 11, 1940. According to its terms, both governments lay down that they are prepared to enter a federal union which will be open to other nations also. A number of Allied statesmen, now in London, have also declared themselves in favor of some such system, while the events of the past two months have cemented the solidarity of all subjugated nations in the face of common oppression.

Preliminary steps for the creation of such federations should and can be taken even before the end of hostilities, and in a form capable of expansion to include other nations, as soon as they become free and can establish free governments. Such a system should come into force even before the opening of peace negotiations with the Axis powers.

The super-federal or international authority which would co-ordinate the activities of the various federal groups should be an expression of the same national forces from which the central organization of the various federations derive their powers, namely, from the will of the people. A revised League of Nations might, for the time being, act as a super-imposed international authority, for the purpose of co-ordination, but it would have to evolve gradually into some kind of federal authority.

The predominant rôle which the British Commonwealth of Nations, backed by the United States of America, will be called upon to play in post-war developments in Europe, is indicated in the words of the late Lord Lothian: "The only place where the power can be found behind the laws of a liberal and democratic world is in the United States and Great Britain."

This war has been generally accepted as a war for democracy. And democracy must now have its chance in international relations as well as within the individual States. Just as the principle of equality of rights for every citizen should exist in a democracy, so the issue of this war should be equality of rights for every nation, small or large, together with the possibility of free development.

The existence of the small nations is an important guarantee of European equilibrium. It was no accident that Hitler and Mussolini both started their actions for world domination by attacking small neighbors. The independence and liberty of small nations is vital to the whole continent's development, and so there must be a place for them in the new Europe. Czechoslovakia will not be a part of the *Lebensraum* of any greater nation whatever that may be, since it is convinced that only through its own free and independent existence can it best help the common cause of human progress.

Regarding the question of co-operation through blocs, it is very probable that there will arise some regional pacts within a European or world organization. Differences of opinion may exist as to details,

but it should be underlined that events have proved that peace and security are indivisible, that they cannot be obtained and safeguarded without general co-operation. Thus, Great Britain must be interested in Central Europe just as Central Europe is concerned in certain British affairs which have their reactions on the Danube and the Vltava. At the same time the small states of Central Europe naturally have certain special interests in common so that it should be possible to build up a Central European bloc. But such an organization must always be within some larger framework such as, for example, a body like the League of Nations.

Some ideas as to the basis of a proposed new Central Europe were recently outlined by Dr. Hubert Ripka, of the Czechoslovak Foreign Office. While recognizing that there still exist "very many unknown and unpredictable factors," he suggests a confederation of small States from the Baltic to the Aegean Seas. This would be based upon the following conceptions:

- (1) It would be composed only of nations genuinely free and able to set up joint administration machinery by free agreement.
- (2) Each State would waive an equal amount of sovereignty, and to prevent any State having a preponderance over the rest, no neighboring Great Power should be allowed to participate.
- (3) The confederation should be directed by joint administration bodies on which all member States would have an equal number of delegates.
- (4) Since a number of Central European States repudiate the monarchical form of government, the creation of a joint monarchy is excluded.
- (5) The internal régimes of the participating States should be established on democratic principles, since a confederation between a feudal State, a democratic State, and a State under police rule, is impossible.
- (6) This Baltic-Aegean confederation would need to be part of a larger European association of powers.

Dr. Ripka also suggests that steps should be taken to discuss possibilities of the closest co-operation between the Danube States of Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, and Rumania.

The negotiations now proceeding between Poland and Czechoslovakia, both States have indicated, are not in any way exclusive, but rather intended as the beginning of a movement for the formation of some Central European organization of the nations situated between Germany, Italy, and Russia. Poland and Czechoslovakia are neighbors, their official governments are in England, and they know what they want and do not want. This makes it all the easier. At the moment it is impossible to negotiate with Austria, or Hungary, for example, since there is no free body with which to negotiate.

Looking at the broader field, it is clear that some institution like the League of Nations must be again set up after the war. But it must avoid the blunders of its predecessor. The United States and Russia must be in it from the beginning, and such a League must have military power behind it.

WE INVITE THEM ALL

Amid The Tents And Fields Of Scotland

By KSAWERY PRUSZYŃSKI

I FEEL spring is coming," announced Sergeant Krysta sniffing the morning air. Besides, the cow-slips were already breaking through the snow. Soon the birds would be returning from the warm countries . . .

At present a volunteer in the Polish Army, but a high school teacher of natural science by education, he always related the phenomena of nature to all other events.

"There'll be more mud, damn it," cursed his neighbor of the same barrack, Lance Corporal Kowalski, pessimistically inclined towards all new things, formerly a taxi-driver in Poznan who had managed to escape from under the Germans and to reach the Polish Army.

"That's already the second spring far away from Poland" . . . melancholically mused seventeen-year-old Private Rohoyski, who came here from Wilno, where he had been a student.

"Yes, yes," agreed the other soldiers in unison, "but perhaps it's nearer to Poland now . . . ?"

There was, indeed, that day a first warm breeze and spring could be sensed all along the shore. It was even pleasanter that day to go on duty to the freezing pillboxes on the coast and to be on the lookout for Goering or Admiral Roeder who might be stealing along like foxes to the hencoop. And that day the soldiers were walking about full of excitement or lost in dreams.

"Oh, spring is coming," observed the Major in the evening; "I feel my rheumatism again, and that's a sure enough sign."

And he, too, sat down drowsily and lost in thought.

* * * *

At that very hour all the soldiers of the platoon were sitting in the tin barracks, but somehow the conversation lagged. The boys did not want to play cards, and even turned off the radio, a disrespect

rarely shown to the garrulous gifts of good Lady Warrender.

"What are you thinking about?" Sergeant Krysta asked young Rohoyski, breaking the silence; as a former high school teacher he always felt the need of taking the platoon's youngest soldier under his protection.



Scots Lassies and Polish Boys

"I?" said Rohoyski; "I? Oh, nothing much . . . I was thinking, but that's so unimportant . . . But someone said today that the spring that is coming is bringing us closer to Poland. And I was just thinking how things will be in Poland and what I'm going to do first . . ."

"That's an interesting idea," commented the teacher approvingly. "Listen, boys, let's all of

us think what we would do and will do when we are home again. I give you five minutes time and then we'll give our replies."

In the rusty flicker of the small kerosene lamps complete silence enveloped the barracks.

* * *

"Five minutes," announced the ex-teacher of natural science from Gdynia, "let's all answer in succession . . ."

"I'm going to buy a new taxi-cab," said Kowalski, "but an English one. One like those in Edinburgh. Haven't you seen them? They're grand."

"I'll finish my thesis on the influence of Horace on the poets of the Polish Renaissance," said Bochnak . . . "I hope that mother has saved my manuscript, for the house in Warsaw was not ruined . . ."

(Like so many other Polish soldiers, he was a university student.)

"I'm going to rebuild our house in the country," said Rohoyski.

"I'm going to get myself drunk," announced Burkat.

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W E I N V I T E T H E M A L L

(Continued from page 9)

"As we see, each will do what he'll be able to do," the ex-teacher of natural science remarked at this juncture. "But our friend Burkat's reply doesn't seem to me sufficiently exhaustive. To get drunk, well, all of us will get drunk, on that joyful day . . ."

"But on that particularly, Burkat was emphasizing the importance of his decision. The more so that — as I've heard — vodka got much cheaper under the German occupation. Only I don't know whether that's true."

"It is true," said Krysta, "for the Germans in their attempt to demoralize the Polish population by drunkenness have abandoned the former policy of Polish governments of setting prohibitively high prices on alcohol . . ."

"That's swell," Burkat remarked happily; "perhaps they won't be able to change the prices at once."

And the conversation would probably have been broken off that evening were it not for Karp who, silent thus far, shouted from his bed:

"I'm going to invite the Smiths from Castle Street to my place."

This news fell on the soldiers like a thunderbolt of unforeseen possibilities.

"Whom are you going to invite?" asked Rohoyski with astonishment.

"Well, the Smiths of Castle Street. Why, don't you know them? Haven't you been there with me quite a few times for a pot of tea? I'll invite them."

"What d'you mean, all the Smiths? But certainly not Grandma Smith."

"The whole lot, and Grandma as well."

"Don't be a fool, Grandma Smith is hardly able to walk."

"Never mind. First she'll ride and then we'll carry her."

"But they'll never go so far."

This threw Burkat completely off his balance.

"Why shouldn't they? I've come to them in Scotland, they'll come and see me in Poland. They'll not go to

Lima now a? You'll see that when I invite them, they'll come."

"I beg your pardon," said Kowalski with dignity. "I've also been a guest in their house. Therefore, they must

come and see me, and me first for I was the first to..."

Burkat was seized with rage.

"What d'you mean first? Who was the first to hit on the idea of inviting them? You were thinking only of that Edinburgh taxi-cab . . ."

"Softly, gentlemen, softly," Sergeant Krysta now interposed, as if he were silencing an undisciplined class during a period of nature study. "Let's not start a fight over who's going to invite the whole Smith family. I'll tell you what we'll do; we're going to invite all of them."

And he stood there with an expression of merry secrecy on his face as if he were just about to explain to his class some extremely pleasant riddle.

"What d'you mean all of them?" shouted Burkat with rage, for now he considered himself to be the monopolistic holder of the patent for inviting the Scots to Poland.

"All of them," repeated the ex-teacher, smiling blissfully. "We'll invite all the Scots to Poland. To return our call. As soon as Poland will rise again, as soon as we'll be back home, we shall say to the Scots: 'We have been in various countries and have eaten of many kinds of foreign bread during those years of war and exile. Some was hard and some was salty, some was dry and some was such that it would not go down our throats. For it is always hard to eat an exile's — not one's own — bread' . . ."

"Stop it," rebuked Kowalski, who suddenly felt a lump in his throat.

"Let him speak," retorted Galica, whose eyes were growing misty.

"Thus, we Poles will speak to the Scots," continued the ex-teacher, Sergeant Krysta, "and we shall say: 'But your bread was the best for it was given with the kindest hand and with the most loving heart. Not as one gives to beggars' . . ."

"Don't, don't, old fellow," Kowalski was heard saying . . .



Lessons in English and . . .



Poles Make Hay on Scots' Farm



Scots Cheer Poles

"... 'but as one gives to allies, well-known friends and brothers. You don't know us at all, and you've been like brothers' ..."

"That's the truth," confirmed Burkat.

"Therefore, that you may learn to know us — you'll now come as our guests to us. We are inviting you all, after victory, for a visit to Poland."

"What d'you mean, all?" Private Burkat voiced his astonishment at this juncture. "All Scots to Poland?"

And the ex-teacher continued as if he were delivering a very important lecture.

"All Scots. Whoever will like to come to Poland as a guest. Those unknown met in bars who would treat us, unknown Polish soldiers just arrived from France, to whiskey and gin and beer ..."

"Oh, how we'll get tight with them," sighed Burkat joyfully.

"And those Scottish ladies, those girls and old women who have asked us, foreigners, to their homes, for a pot of tea, for good cakes, for the warmth of their firesides, for words well-wishing and kind ..."

"Yes, sirrie," interjected Kowalski.

"And those little children who asked us for souvenirs, who learned to say in Polish *dobranoc*, *dzien-dobry*, *dowidzenia*, *czolem*. All of them, all, all."

"And Professor Sarolee, who for more than twenty years was our first friend in Scotland ..."

"That's right, that's right," now the whole platoon, seated around Sergeant Krysta, was nodding.

"And Lady Warrender, who already in France, opened the horn of plenty to us in the form of razors, socks, radio sets, pocket knives ..."

"That's right, that's right."

"And all the Y.M.C.A. canteen workers with whom we had such pleasant talks."

"That's right, that's right."

"And those girls of St. Andrews who managed the canteen for us ..."

"And those of Dundee ..."

"And those of Glasgow ... Of Forfar ... of Perth"

"And finally, gentlemen," spoke Sergeant Krysta, and at this moment he solemnly raised his voice, "we will invite the greatest friend of the Poles in this country, that paragon of hosts, the Lord Provost of Glasgow, Dollan."

The barrack was shaken by a roar, comparable to the roar at a soccer game after the decisive goal, to the roar following a knockout blow in the ring or after a race has been won. It was a triumphal, victorious, joyful roar. The whole barrack trembled from that roar which rang into the night.

"Yes, yes, yes, our Dollan."

"Dollan!" shouted Kowalski at the top of his voice.

"Dollanowski," Burkat Polonized the name in his favorite fashion.

Now the soldiers were shouting by themselves, trying to outstrip each other.

"And the MacMillans."

"And MacDonald."

"And Forsyte."

"And those two girls from that farm."

"And our postmaster."

"And that swell girl from the bar."

"And the bartender."

"And those English soldiers from Bridge with whom we had that fight over those red-haired dames."

"And the King and Queen!"

"And Churchill!"

"Churchill! The King!"

"Gentlemen," Sergeant Krysta interrupted them here, again like a teacher in school who tempers his pupils' excessive mirth. "This manner of mentioning the King and Queen, and a man of such qualities as the present Prime Minister, cannot be regarded as proper. I share your joy and your feelings but you've got to express them properly. It is moreover obvious that they will be invited by the President and General Sikorski and that we will entertain them in the rooms of our kings in the magnificent Wawel Castle. They'll have a good time, don't worry. But what we are concerned with at present is that from these tragic days and common struggles there might arise something that would be an alliance of nation with nation, of man with man, and this purpose will be served by that Scottish return visit."

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Polish Soldiers at Work Constructing Coast Defenses in Scotland

POLISH FORCES IN TOBRUK

POLISH forces are in Tobruk. They are taking part in the British offensive in Libya — such is the latest news from Africa. It shows that the Polish Army is fighting on all fronts where the battle for Freedom is waged against Germanism.

The famous Mountaineers Brigade, that fought so gallantly during the Polish campaign of 1939, that distinguished itself by protecting the retreat of the French Army in 1940, that won the highest recognition of the British Command during the siege of Narvik in Norway, is again in the forefront. Since September 1939, Polish forces have now their first real opportunity to pay back the Germans. They went about their task with great fervor.

One of the British commanders in Tobruk said: "Poles are splendid warriors. Their only trouble is their eagerness to attack the enemy. Their enthusiasm knows no limits. They are always seeking for action."

The future of Poland entirely depends upon how Poles fight today. Nations win positions of real authority, only by solid military achievement. The Poles in Tobruk, like Polish pilots in sky of Great Britain, are symbols of true achievement.



Below we print the latest pictures of Polish Soldiers in Tobruk.



(Continued from page 11)

"Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!"

At this moment the door was flung wide open. The N.C.O. on duty, the officer on duty, three officers rushed in.

"What's all this shouting in the night? A drinking bout? You'll have to report."

Dead silence fell on the room.

"A fine time you've chosen. The General has just come for a sudden inspection. Well . . ."

"What was that, what?" asked the General, who in turn appeared in the door. "Who's in command here? Sergeant Krysta? So you, Sergeant, allow such things to happen? You, a high school teacher?"

"As I entered, he was standing and shouting himself," the N.C.O. on duty interpolated.

"What has happened to you?" asked the General, who realized that there was something unusual about the whole thing. "What, you haven't even been drinking!" he added, seeing that there was no trace of bottles, glasses, drinks. "That's very suspicious."

Slowly, assisted by his comrades, the poor teacher gave the reasons for that loud mirth. The General and his entourage listened.

"That's nice, very nice," he said, "but one should not shout at night. Tomorrow you shall report to

your battalion commander."

But walking towards his car on the highway, the General added:

"Colonel, when they report to you tomorrow, please don't treat them harshly. I had to frighten them a bit, but that's all."

"Perhaps at least three days' confinement to the barracks," suggested the Colonel.

"No," said the General. "Nothing. That'll be best."

And in the car he addressed his aide-de-camp:

"This cadet-sergeant of ours goes on doing nothing."

"What do you mean, General? . . . He translates English army regulations, takes care of all the correspondence . . . Now again . . ."

"What does all that amount to?" interrupted the General. "At his age I could do three times as much. No, no. He must be put to hard work. He must write for that camp paper of ours a . . . how d'you call it? . . . a vision, yes, a vision. What such a mass visit of Scots to Poland would look like."

"I'll tell him at once."